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161 Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared
163 with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The
165 vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available. These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

162 The population of each village of Pukapuka (as of June 16, 1935) is:

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		Island Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adults	84	80	54	67	61	48	199	195
	164		121		109		394	
Children	101		64		73		238	
Totals	265		185		182		632	

[621] These village figures, supplied by Geoffrey Henry, are based entirely on village lists made up for divisions of food and of copra money. They include all the people who affiliate (*tau*) with the named village, irrespective of village residence. The figures for adults include all those males and females who have attained sociological adulthood (*wakatane* or *wakawawine*), that is, all persons above the age of about 16 years, who receive adult shares in village food divisions.

From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

	Adults	Adolescents	Total Adults	Children	Total
Male	88	18	106	77	183
Female	93	11	104	61	165
					348

In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

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(a)

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Household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	[illegible]	M	Ch	Ad Ch	Son's Wife	Son's Wife's Sis	Son's Wife's Sis's Ch	Son's Ch	D'r Hus	D'r Ch	Ad Son's Wife	Ad Son's Ch	D'r H	D'r F	D'r Br
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+				+		+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
4	+	+		+											
5	+	+	+	+					+						
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7	+	+		+											
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Table 5. Household Composition (2)

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
F's Br's Wife	F's Br's Wife's Illeg Ch	F's Br's Ch	F's Br's Son's Wife	F's Sis	F's Sis's D	F's Sis's D's Hus	F's M's Sis	F's M's Sis's Ch	F's M's Br's Ch	F's M's Br's D's Hus	F's M's Br's Ad Ch	F's M's M	F's F's Sis	F's Ad F's Son	F's Ad F's Son's Ch	F's Ad M	F's Dir Wife's Sis
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(c)

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34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
F's Dy Wife's Sis's Hus	F's Dy Wife's Sis's Ch	M's Ch	M's Ch's Ch	M's M	M's M's Hus	M's Sis	M's Sis's Ch	M's Br's Ch	M's Br's Son's Wife	M's Br's Son's Ch	M's Br's Wife	M's M's Sis	M's M's Sis's Hus	M's M's Sis's Ch	M's F's Br's Ch	M's Ad Br	M's Ad Br's Wife
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				+												+	+

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592 mants. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority 591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of 162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 3 to 8 persons account for 591 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

162 In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical composition of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoption

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592 occurred, both of feeding children (*tama nangai*) and of children "cut off" (*tama kokoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

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In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama kokoti* and 10 *tama nangai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 592 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a [612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*wangai*, to feed). The adopting
613 parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua wangai*, the child as *tama wangai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a gener-
591 ation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama kokoti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama wangai* living with their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama wangai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reason for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

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recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third generation removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-